1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
515, 264 Ifalik

"A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal."

2; Damm et al.--168 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 264 Faraulep

The natives have no regular meals as we understand them. Children and women eat almost all the time, and the men eat morning, noon and in the evening. The members of the family have repasts together, and so there is no division according to the sexes.

4: Krämer--284
116, 264, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Kotzebue, Vol, III, page 132: "Several people may not eat fruit from the same cluster of bananas. Only the person who has eaten one of the bananas should eat the others."

24: Christian--238
116, 264, 776

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"It was not long before Lewis started with reminiscences of the ways of the Lamotrek islanders. 'These people,' said he, 'have a regular grace before meat like Christians. When the fish is taken cooked out of the oven, before they taste a solitary fragment, one of them takes a bit from the head and solemnly mutters, "Ka Toutop arai" -- "Do thou bless me, oh Toutop."' This Toutop is a Deity greatly honoured in the Lamotrek Pantheon. Then he throws away the bit, and the people immediately begin their meal. But if anyone were to partake of the food before the blessing was asked, the fishermen would have no luck any more, but storms and heavy gales. For Toutop, like the rest of the Caroline gods, is very jealous of any slight put upon him.'"

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--144 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 264 Ifalik

"People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, as they please, when they awaken. And they eat whatever happens to be at hand-- a coconut, or leftover food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about 9:00 by anyone who happens to be present."

28: Spiro--144 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 462 Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--144-145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 264 Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

28: Spiro--145 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 343 Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

28: Spiro--145 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 782 Ifalik

"Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent alus of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus were a poor protector, and illness had befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either agai-l'alus or maipi-l'alus."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [264]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [431]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. 121
With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had 262
next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach 114
this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women 262
and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average 264
daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 196
175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most 146
detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The 114
foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs